The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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CONTENTS

Confidence 391
Week by Week 392
Canada's Constitutional Issue ..... Anthony Traboulsee 395
Fortitude Preferred ..... Norman McKenna 397
Sand Bar (*verse*) ..... Elizabeth Bohm 398
First Offenders ..... Charles J. Dutton 399
Philippine Catholicism ..... P. C. Morantte 401
Seven Days' Survey 402
Communications 405
The Screen ..... James P. Cunningham 406
Books ..... Michael Williams, Geoffrey Stone, James J. Walsh 406

Previous issues of THE COMMONWEAL are indexed in the *Reader's Guide* and the *Catholic Periodical Index*.

CONFIDENCE

IN A RECENT address at a banquet given in Geneva by the International Club in his honor and in that of the European Committee of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler asserted that today the world is a discouraged world. Everywhere, he pointed out, there is lack of confidence, both in governments and on the part of governments—lack of confidence in the economic systems, in the social systems, in the monetary systems.

"Without a restoration of confidence," he concluded, "so that men and governments and nations will believe in each other and take each other's word, we never can get out of the slough of despond in which vast armaments seem a happy and fortunate ideal. Confidence is what we need."

But how is confidence to be restored?

Dr. Butler's very apposite remarks recall to our mind the ominous fact that despair was one of the most obvious and terrible marks of Rome's decadence. Roman legions had conquered the world; but they were powerless against the attacks of this vicious, unseen enemy. Roman jurists had created a system of law whereby Rome might effectively and equitably govern many provinces and nations; but they could not outlaw despair. Roman merchants had accumulated vast wealth; but they could not purchase immunity from this hideous thing. Roman emperors promulgated decrees which were sped over a magnificent network of roads to the far frontiers of a vast and apprehensive empire; but they could not banish nihilism. Roman mobs shouted for circuses and gladitorial contests. Was it not to forget, for a few hours or a few days, the grim evidences of the slow paralysis that had seized upon nearly every living thing? Roman astrologers anxiously searched the heavens for favorable portents—and were silent. Some said that the end of the world was near at hand.

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There was one Institution, however, a young Institution as we measure time today, that appeared to be altogether unaffected by the pessimistic disillusionment of that grotesque age. The whole vigorous, progressive spirit of this incredible Institution seemed to be epitomized in a recommendation of confidence and joy uttered by a cheerful and very sociable anchorite by the name of Antony who lived in the desert bordering the right bank of the Nile.

"Let us not be sad," he was in the habit of saying to his disciples, "as if we were perishing; let us be confident and ever joyful. Let us be courageous. On the path of virtue it is not time that matters, but the desire and the will."

In the western part of the disconsolate Roman Empire that pioneer of eastern asceticism, John Cassian, expressed the opinion that violent extremes in mortification were not lasting, adding that vanity would most likely enter into such practises. One would, for example, probably feel a certain vain pride in being able to say that one never used oil in one's meals. It was therefore always advisable, Cassian discreetly suggested, to add a drop.

When the empire crumbled beneath the blows of successive barbarian invasions, the sum of human misery was incalculable. "All Gaul was burnt on a single bonfire," wrote an eye-witness in Gaul. The barbarians brought with them also plague and famine. A small remnant of miserable men lived in ruined, spectral cities, and of them the saying was: "He may call himself a rich man who now has bread." Pious travelers, passing through the ominous solitudes of the West and East alike, believed that the end of the world predicted in the Scriptures was very near at hand.

One amazing Institution survived the terrible cataclysm and promptly ordered the rebuilding of Europe. Cheerful bands of young men executed that order by settling in some unclaimed spot or wild tract of land, clearing the forest, building a home for themselves which they called a monastery, tilling the soil, erecting schools, hospitals and almshouses, studying music, writing and illuminating books, and compiling chronicles which told, in simple language, the immortal accomplishments of the Institution that was destined to be the guide, teacher and mother of the nations of the West.

That same Institution molded and fashioned the civilization of the glorious Middle Ages. It survived the breakup of Christendom in the sixteenth century, the religious wars in the seventeenth century, the French Revolution in the eighteenth century, the Kulturkampf in the nineteenth century. And it will survive all contemporary persecutions.

The French philosopher Jouffroy once declared that there is a little book which is taught to children. If we read this book, which is the catechism, we shall find a solution of all the problems which today perplex mankind and are driving men to the abyss of despair. If we ask the Christian, whence comes the human race, he knows; or whither it goes, he knows; or how it goes, he knows. If we ask the child who has received a truly Christian education why he is here below, and what will become of him after death, he will give all inquirers a sublime answer. If we ask him how the world was created and for what end, why God has placed in it plants and animals, how the earth was peopled, why men speak different languages, why they suffer, why they struggle, and how all this tumult and anarchy will end, he knows it all. Origin of the world, origin of the species, the destiny of man in this life and in the life to come, relations of man to God, duties of man to his fellow man, rights of man over creation—he is ignorant of none of these points. And when he shall have grown up, "he will as little hesitate with regard to natural right, political right, or the right of nations: all this proceeds with clearness, and as it were of itself, from Christianity."

If there is despair in the world today, if we face the future apprehensively, if there is hardly an institution of our national life in which the average citizen has implicit faith, it is because men and nations have either not acquainted themselves with fundamental Christian precepts, or having done so, see fit to ignore them. There can never be a restoration of confidence, courage and gaiety today until there is a universal restoration of Christian principles. And that, in turn, depends upon the voluntary allegiance of all men of good-will to that Institution—namely the Catholic Church—which is today, as in every century of our era, the hope and light of the world.

Week by Week

The Trend of Events

CONGRESS speeded action on four of the five administration measures designated as a minimum to be accomplished before adjournment which is now hopefully set for August 21. The Senate passed the Housing Bill but with three unfortunate amendments that will most likely postpone indefinitely the drive to abolish slum conditions. The House passed the Sugar Control Bill with restrictions on imports of refined sugar from Hawaii and Puerto Rico. The bill in its present form deserves prompt presidential veto because we believe that citizens of those territories are entitled to equal treatment with citizens in continental United States, and this new bill reinstitutes the system of pork barrel

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preferential tariffs. The master hand of Vice-President Garner speeded the compromise bill for "procedural" reforms in the inferior courts through the Senate in fifty-nine minutes, thus expertly bringing the court issue to a conclusion. Both the Senate and the country were thereby happily delivered from another acrimonious dispute when controversial amendments were not offered. The House Labor Committee recommended the passage of the Wages and Hours Bill with fifty-nine modifications. No one dared to predict how much inconvenience and loss the American business man will be called upon to endure, nor how many practical benefits the workingman may enjoy. The joint committee investigating tax evasions suggested an eight-point tax plan to plug eight huge loopholes in the present tax laws. Major emphasis was upon drastic upward revision of taxes and sharper restrictions on domestic personal holding companies. Finally, the largest American cotton crop in six years brought a demand for the equivalent of a guaranteed price of $.17 a pound. Farmers would agree to comply with whatever new crop control scheme Congress might devise next year.

Cost of Living

RECURRENT waves of inflation fear have spread over the country ever since the beginning of the depression. The most vicious type of inflation is a general rise in the cost of living unaccompanied by a corresponding rise in the income of the general public. Its reverse is material progress. No one is very panicky over inflation now and there is no apparent reason why we should be. There are tendencies manifest, however, which might give us at least contemplative concern. There is no sign that leaders in American price administration are trying to reduce our living costs. For wage earners and low salaried workers they have gone up 3.1 percent since last year and .9 percent since March. This was a quiet change and not particularly noticeable, except, perhaps, in charges for rent and house-furnishing goods where the rise was sharpest. Now automobiles are going up, and because of the central and symbolic position of the industry, we are well aware of it and regret it. Rising labor costs will not be permitted to cut profits if the auto magnates can prevent it. They judge that the public will pay and they are smart judges, but the system they calculate by sometimes leads to trouble. No individualistic independent is likely to take the props from under General Motors, but general high prices can easily undermine the public standard of living and the whole economy may tumble in after it. Corporate retrenchment and generous dividends payments do not have the same effect as low prices in advancing the standard of living.

Nationalist Morale

IN A RECENT statement, General Jose Miaja declared that the Nationalist armies had suffered heavy losses in challenging the Government offensive west of Madrid and had suffered a disastrous collapse of morale. The Loyalist general, by some strange process of reasoning, emphasized the fact that his forces were triumphant—even though they never reached Naval Carnero, even though they could not hold Brunete, even though they failed to break the siege of Madrid. Nationalist morale subsequently reached such a low ebb that a determined drive was launched against Santander and Asturias Provinces, last important Loyalist controlled territory on the Bay of Biscay coast, another offensive gained daily momentum on the Teruel front, a third drive was launched against Villaneuva de la Canada, on the west of Madrid, and a fourth offensive was started against Cuesta de la Reina, to the south of Madrid. Weakened Nationalist morale must then have reached a state of almost utter collapse when word was received of the assassination of Andres Nin, P. O. U. M. (United Marxist Workers Party) leader, the arrest of 400 members of the party, and the raging dissatisfaction of former Premier Francisco Largo Caballero, leader of various extreme Leftist groups, who threatens to tour the country in opposition to the present government. He and his 2,000,000 sympathizers are alleged to believe that the Negrin government is sabotaging the social revolution. Meanwhile, Norman Thomas raised his voice in the United States to assert that political opponents of the Loyalist government, accused of being Fascists or traitors, are being tried "under one of the most tyrannical sedition laws that can be imagined." What did Mr. Thomas expect from the Communist government in Valencia? Certainly not justice. Certainly not a respect for civil and religious liberties. The Valencia government faces one of the most acute political crises in its bloody history, a crisis that may well be a deciding factor in the present Civil War. The Nationalists, we believe, will not be unduly depressed by these developments because they seem to be but a contemporary affirmation of the age-old truth that a government that lives by anarchy perishes in the same way.

C.S.M.C.

THE CATHOLIC STUDENTS' MISSION CRUSADE is holding its tenth national convention in Cleveland, August 17-20. The principal meetings and the pontifical Mass are taking place in the main arena of the local public auditorium where also, in the exposition hall, missionary displays were set up in more than 150 booths. Committees totaling 600 members provided for the comfort of the offi-

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cial delegates and friends of this great Catholic youth movement. The students, thank God, have been challenged to a program of action. They are tackling such problems as racial equality in religious education, methods for spreading Christian ideals in American society and the strategy of militant opposition to atheistic Communism in both the home and foreign mission fields. We are proud of the past accomplishments of the Crusaders and extend to them our sincere best wishes as they gather to outline a program of militant action for the coming year.

Summer Music

SUMMER is very different. It pleases us greatly that in these changeable latitudes things are getting better and better adjusted to take advantage of that fortunate fact. It is a sign perhaps of obscure decadence, surely of maturity, that we find more and more work that can be put off or at least slowed down, permitting a quantity and quality of consuming impossible in the cold season and unthinkable in an altogether ambitious frontier age. In winter, for instance, city people can see shows and hear music, better shows generally, and better music than during these months, but how inferior in effect. In summer theatre the show is not more than 50 percent of the thing; other considerations can safely be relied upon to make the other 50 percent independently pleasant. Summer music is the most pleasing triumph of all. The Salzburg festival is not duplicated in America, but is a lead followed not too far behind. The great orchestras of the winter, split up and playing in Elysian settings, multiply the delights of good music. The Berkshire Symphonic Festival in Lenox, with Serge Koussevitzky and the whole Boston orchestra, has established itself as a most idyllic American version of the genus. Art and relaxation are well served, villages have prospered, garden clubs have perfected the naturally lovely landscape, antique shops report unheard-of turnovers, and musicians have camped in tents along running streams. Sightseers wander over the grounds with no particular plan of staying for the concerts, utilizing candid cameras. Soon one may expect chamois-skin shorts and feathers in hats and a tradition will be completed in America too.

Picketing, Various

NO CHRONICLER nowadays does his complete duty until he sets down the highlights among the country's picket lines at the time of going to press. Accordingly, we record that—though the West has often produced efforts in this line that are outstanding in color and vigor—the fanciest work at the moment, it seems, is being done in the East. The most dignified example was furnished by the multitudinous craft of one of the waterways near New York, which disposed themselves prow to stern and sailed thus in single file through most of one day, to protest the government's halting of a desired marine development. Whatever the merits of the case, we would rather have seen this by far than the race between Ranger and Endeavour. The most unusual example of picketing was the forest of balloons designed to soar up past the windows of a celebrated cartoon studio in Manhattan, bearing impassioned pleas to the non-unionized employees within. It should not count against the idea that some of the balloons broke their moorings while the others were blown the wrong way by an ill-conditioned wind. Finally, the most effective picketing was put on by a couple of hundred youngsters of Orange, New Jersey. Learning that the city had suspended work on a promised playground because the residents contiguous thereto feared the resultant noise, they shuffled back and forth chanting their wrongs so lustily that all concerned were glad to compromise by sending the workmen back on the double to complete the job.

Also a Mystery

THE MAJOR mystery of the Earhart case is the fate of the aviatrix and her co-pilot; but it has evoked certain minor mysteries of conduct which, in their own way, are just as baffling. During the anxiety-laden days following the plane's first message of distress, some persons sent out a series of broadcasts purporting to come from the fliers. Though their authenticity was doubted by many from the first, and was finally generally rejected, they certainly confused the search and prolonged public hope; and it is overwhelmingly probable that they added cruelly to the burden of those most closely concerned in the tragedy. The memory of this ghastly hoax is currently revived by the attempt at another trick, which though directed to the plain purpose of extortion instead of mere satanic mischief-making, has much of the same morally unintelligible quality. A New York janitor several years ago accidentally acquired a scarf belonging to Miss Earhart. Last week he appeared before her husband offering it in proof of his claim to be one of an arms-running crew that had rescued her off New Guinea and refused to give her up for less than $2,000. The inevitable check-up revealed the extortioner's identity, but his account had been minutely perfected, with every detail to make plausible his demand for secrecy. Misdirected daring and ingenuity, and the base willingness to coin into profit the mortal anxiety of others, are not new in the history of crime. But a case like this brings them into dramatic focus, and sharpens the unhappy wonder they must arouse in the decent majority of mankind.

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CANADA'S CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE

By ANTHONY TRABOULSEE

IF THE average American were asked his opinion of a nation whose basic constitution, as far as it is written, was enacted by another nation and can only be amended by such enacting nation, whose court of last resort is in another country, and the members of such court are not nine old men but more like ninety-nine old and oldish, varying in number from session to session, and the decisions of which are irreversible—unless "the instant case" is distinguished from binding precedents with the aid of legal calipers—what would he say? The average American would say such a system of government was typically English, and he would be right.

Canada's Constitution is merely a legislative enactment (the British North America Act), passed by the Imperial Parliament at London in 1867. Being an enactment of that august body, it could only be amended by it. Canada's court of last resort (except in criminal cases) is the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, at London. Nobody knows for certain how many persons are entitled to sit on this bench, and to make matters more typically English, the King can add others to sit in. What a piker, then, was Roosevelt!

The B. N. A. Act formally created the Canadian confederation of provinces. Now theoretically, this Act nowhere places any constitutional fetters on Parliament in the abstract, but it does so in the concrete. There is not one single parliament in Canada but ten of them, the federal parliament and the nine provincial legislatures. The Act has divided the limited sovereignty that Canada enjoyed when the Act was passed between the Federal Parliament and the provincial legislatures. Canada now enjoys a greater degree of sovereignty as a member of the British Commonwealth of nations. But this allotment of legislative powers or jurisdictions still remains, and it has given rise to serious problems not only academically, but of a distressingly practical kind as the sequel shows.

In fact our constitutional problem in Canada is akin to that of the United States. Our Federal Parliament, in contrast to the Federal Congress of the United States, was allotted to residuary power, that is to say, where in the United States federal powers are enumerated and delegated, in Canada the opposite obtains. Here federal powers are enumerated to be sure, and the provincial legislatures are apparently given wide powers under the "property and civil rights" provisions; none the less residuary power is reserved to the Federal Parliament at Ottawa.

What must be constantly held in mind by American readers in comparing Canadian with American constitutional practises or philosophy, if you like, is that there is no such thing as unconstitutionality in Canada. Any proposed legislation—a minimum wage law for men, for instance—is constitutional, and no court can hold otherwise. But the important consideration is which is the competent body to pass such legislation, the Federal Parliament legislating for all Canada, or the different provincial legislatures each legislating for its own province? In short, it is a question of *ultra vires* and *intra-vires,* correlative terms. So for Canada.

The picture is entirely different in the United States. The courts can hold and have held that minimum wage legislation, not only for men but even for women, is unconstitutional, and not only as regards the Federal Congress but as regards the state legislatures. That is to say, these courts, including the Supreme Court—up until the Washington State decision—have held that such legislation is unconstitutional as regards the state legislatures, and *a fortiori* as regards the Congress. Just as an aside, the term Washington is fated to play an important part in this kind of legislation. It was the Adkins case from the District of Columbia which spelled the doom of minimum wage legislation, and now the decision of the Supreme Court in the Washington State case has probably paved the way for further legislation by the different states on this matter.

In brief, the courts in the United States can slam the door hard in the face of any social legislation or any legislation as unconstitutional, violative of the rights of citizens. But in Canada there are not such written guarantees. Here the question is always: Who has competency, the Dominion Parliament or the provincial legislatures? And in the United States, the question is: Is there competency anywhere to pass such legislation? That is to say, the Supreme Court in the United States is the big stick, but under British political philosophy, Parliament is supreme. No court can abort the will of the people. There are no checks of any kind on Parliament. It can pass any law conceivable, in theory, but in practise the watchword is always *cave canem,* the voter, who could cause Parliament to dissolve in mid-term or before.

Having said all that, the paradox nevertheless remains of a supreme legislature that is not supreme, and we thus have in Canada an issue closely paralleling that of the United States as a

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brief examination of the following cases recently decided by the Privy Council will show.

During the 1934-1935 sessions of the Dominion Parliament, certain social measures were passed over the protests of the Liberal party, then in opposition. These measures came later to be known as "Canada's New Deal." The Liberals opposed them on the ground of constitutionality alone in the Canadian sense of that term, namely that the Dominion Parliament did not have the constitutional competency to pass such legislation, that such competency inhered only in the provincial legislatures. These laws were (1) the Weekly Rest Act, (2) the Minimum Wages Act, (3) the Limitation of Hours of Work Act, the three of them collectively known as the Labour Codes, (4) the Employment and Social Insurance Act, (5) the Natural Products Marketing Act, and Amendment, (6) the Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act (a Canadian Frazier-Lemke law), (7) the Dominion Trade and Industrial Commission Act, and (8) Section 498A of the Criminal Code.

When the Liberals went into power in the fall of 1935, they referred all these measures to the Supreme Court to determine their constitutionality. The Supreme Court divided equally on Numbers 1, 2 and 3, gave a majority for Number 4, a unanimous judgment in favor of 5, a majority finding in favor of 6. Re 7 the Act was found valid with the exception of Section 14. On the other hand, Sections 18 and 19 making provision for a "Canada Standard" trade mark, for the protection of consumers, were found invalid by the Supreme Court, but were declared valid by the Privy Council. A majority judgment was found in favor of Number 8.

To give an idea of the "New Deal" character of this legislation, a brief résumé of each of these Acts is given. The first three titles are self-explanatory. These Acts covered men, women and children. The fourth title is also self-explanatory. Number 5 provided for the creation of a Dominion Marketing Board with wide powers for the control and the regulation of the marketing of natural products. This was a purchasing-power-parity scheme in favor of farmers. Number 6 is practically a farmers' bankruptcy act. Number 7 set up a commission comparable more or less to the American Federal Trade Commission. The commission was given authority to regulate and curb combines, and to regulate monopolies where such were found to be in the public interest. And 8 is an addition to the Criminal Code of Canada making it an indictable offense to discriminate in price in certain ways between purchasers of goods, and to sell goods at unreasonably low prices for the purpose of destroying competitors. This is directed against chain stores and other mass-buyers of goods.

The Supreme Court judgments were appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to get the last word on the validity of these laws. Their Lordships played havoc with the aspirations of socially minded legislators and others. They found the first five statutes invalid, and the last three valid. The statutes found invalid are the very soul of Canada's New Deal. The reasons are interesting, but space limitation forbids going into them.

What of the future, then? The constitutional issue in Canada is just as acute and just as live as that in the United States. All parties, both major and minor, are in favor of immediate reform. But there are differences as to methods and technique. Legislation such as the invalidated statutes provided is vitally needed. The provinces are reluctant to embark on a career of law-making that will eventually prove ineffectual owing to lack of uniformity and timing. No one province, for instance, will enact unemployment insurance legislation if the other provinces are going to play 'possum. Such a province will be simply penalizing its own industries and virtually bonusing competitive industries in other provinces less social-minded than itself. To synchronize all the provinces in mood, intent and procedure is a veritable *tour de force*. Hence, the only solution, they argue, is federal, and therefore, uniform legislation.

Several solutions have been offered on and off the floor of Parliament. These range from calling a constitutional convention to less ambitious plans, such as abolishing appeals by Canada to the Privy Council. This tribunal, far away in England, sitting within the chilly precincts of Whitehall, have not their aristocratic ears close to the ground of Canadian needs and dreams; whereas, the Supreme Court of Canada has the enormous advantage of being close at home, and more or less attuned with the Canadian orchestration. Some others are asking for amending the British North America Act to allow the Dominion Parliament to legislate in these matters. This shows a close parallel with the problem in the United States. Others are asking the Dominion government to request the Imperial government to amend the B. N. A. Act in such a manner that thereafter the power of further amending will be in the Canadian Parliament with the advice and consent of the provincial legislatures. Some oppose this plan, especially the very large minority of French-speaking people who are jealous of their religious and lingual rights.

The Dominion and provincial governments are not wholly idle, however. Several parleys have been held, and much spadework has been done to find a solution for a problem which is on the threshold of solution, but up to now, insoluble, not because there are no solutions available, but too many.

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FORTITUDE PREFERRED

By NORMAN McKENNA

WHEN the most fundamental values of Christian life are called into question on all sides, it is to be expected that a fear born of ignorance will urge the erection of hasty defenses. Often the only answer offered to Communism in some quarters is an uninformed, frightened reaction, which leads Christians to do just the opposite of what the Communists are doing. The Right attempts to cancel off the work of the Left. A peace movement, for example, alarms some Catholics, who, if they know nothing of the Catholic peace program, will immediately organize a nationalistic opposition—to distinguish themselves from the others.

Of course Catholics should not be content with being different from the Left, or any other group hostile to Catholicism, simply to be different. Such an attitude is reactionary, and seems to be designed to keep Catholicism in America in good repute with nationalistic Americans who still keep an eye peeled for the Pope's flotilla. The mental attitude which dictates such a course of action is provincial: it has American eyes only; it can make no claim at all to a world view—it is not catholic. It is un-catholic in its insistence on a narrow, nationalistic, short-sighted viewpoint. It shows no acquaintance with history; it conceives Christianity as a moral force working always in set modes long existing; it cannot conceive Christianity working in new modes of action which are accidentally different from past modes, but in which the immutable essentials are preserved.

Can Christianity be confined to this narrow viewpoint? Is Christian social reconstruction to be carried on in a vacuum, with no relation to new developments of our day? What would a philosopher say to that? In "Freedom and the Modern World," Jacques Maritain writes:

> By virtue of the Charity which is its essential source and principle, Christian spirituality overflows into things outside; it diffuses its own excellence. It acts upon the world, on culture, on the temporal and political order of human life. More than ever in the days to come, Christianity will seek to impregnate culture and to save even the temporal life of mankind; less than ever will it be at peace with the world. But we think the mode of its action will be different from what it has been in the past.

A little further on, in the same book, Maritain decries the error of defending a given régime which is collapsing, or has collapsed, in the mistaken notion that only by preserving that régime can we preserve the universal values which sometime obtained in it.

One way in which Christian charity will overflow into the things of the world, to their transformation and betterment, is through reconstruction of the social order. While reconstruction has for its proper and direct end the material well-being of society, reconstruction when carried on by Christians looks beyond material welfare to spiritual welfare—in its concern for the primacy of the spiritual, it logically takes a long view of temporal affairs. When such true perspective is kept, the things of the material order are properly placed, and there need be no concern about the Christian quality of the effort. Indeed if every single reconstructive effort has to be plainly labeled as a Christian effort, with the whole Christian synthesis explained in accompaniment of every step, then there is something lacking in the Christian quality of the effort, or, and this is more likely the trouble, critics of reconstruction have not yet grasped the profundity of Christianity, and do not recognize a Christian principle in application.

Well-informed Catholics who have followed the development of the cooperative movement in America will recall how the movement had to be defended from the hasty judges who labeled it socialistic, or utopian, or otherwise damned it without a hearing. If such rash anathemas had been taken seriously, the cooperative movement would have had to develop wholly under non-Catholic auspices, and whatever basic goodness there is in it would have been totally unknown to Catholics. Yet there is nothing basically unsound in cooperation, even though it has its idealistic fringe, as does every remedial movement. The utopianism of a few cooperators does not detract from the sound principles of mutual help and true concern for the common good which underlie sound cooperation. If the movement, as developed here and there, does not coincide with local notions of soundness and practicality, then the critics should lend a good influence in a constructive effort to redirect the movement out of any erratic path. But their criticism should be, not according to local standards, but according to Christian standards.

In the field of legislation, the legal sanctioning of social justice provokes many controversies which reveal a most regrettable short-sightedness on the part of many Catholics. The bogey of Bolshevism, which is supposedly hovering in the vicinity of every capital, especially the one on the Potomac, has frightened many Catholics away from the support of sound and urgent legislation that is entirely in line with the social

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encyclicals. Naturally this red herring leads terror-stricken Catholics to plump for the opposition—whether or not their interpretation of the bill is correct, they are against it, chiefly to be against the people who are for it. Fear of the misunderstood has thus led some Catholics into the utterly absurd position of crediting infallibility to the Supreme Court. Who does not agree with them is therefore unorthodox, and very probably consorting with Reds. Add to this ignorant reaction the unbalanced view of those who put their complete reliance on personalist reform, to the contempt of institutional reform, and it can be understood why Catholics so often appear to be reactionary, or socially indifferent.

Throughout the world today Communism is forever rearing its ugly head, with terrifying effect. Its ubiquitous appearances recall Kipling's "Tommy Atkins": "It's Tommy this, and Tommy that, and Tommy won't you behave?" Now it is Communism this, and Communism that, and Communism, won't you behave? No; Communism won't behave, and we must not expect it to; it is committed to a program of godlessness and violence. Yet while we cannot relax our attack on the errors of Communism, we must exert ourselves to the point of redoubling our efforts to provide Christian solutions for the problems Communism pretends to solve.

It is possible, for example, that a third party, composed of farmer-labor groups could find a center path between Marxist extremism and federal authoritarianism. Have Catholics considered that possibility? It is more than likely that most Catholics have already formed a prejudice against any third party, many fearing it as a subtle development of the United Front. Yet if we, as Catholics, are sincerely concerned about protecting truth and justice, we should be concerned for whatever truth and goodness may be found outside the established parties and systems.

As Maritain warns, we must be careful to avoid identifying the truth with any given régime. To claim perpetual steadfastness in the truth for any human institution is to claim for it what belongs only to the Church. The Church is universal; it is immutable in its dogma; political policies are human arrangements intended to enable an elected group to settle political problems as they arise from day to day. What is true and valid in a political program is true and valid because it conforms to the divine law, but once that program is put into application, faulty interpretation, human weaknesses, political expediency, are likely to play havoc with the truth originally intrinsic to the program.

Another recent development which has frightened many Catholics is the swift organization of the C.I.O. But the fact that a labor movement is strong and sweeps the country does not justify an offhand condemnation of it. If certain of its tactics merit disapproval, then those tactics should be constructively criticized, and right tactics pointed out. Rash critics have already voiced objections to the C.I.O. which threaten to damn the whole labor movement, and stem the whole advance toward collective bargaining. For years Catholics have been talking about the living wage, and other rights of labor, yet when labor gets within calling distance of its rights, there are some quick to throw up their hands in high horror and cry "revolution!" These timorous ones should be thankful to God that the advance toward industrial democracy is taking place in such an orderly manner.

Catholics are too easily frightened; they shy away from movements and new developments as if what is new is, in itself, evil, or at least, evil until baptized. But political parties, labor movements and social legislation are not eligible for the cleansing waters of baptism; the work of Christianizing temporal affairs is one for the individual Christian in contact with them. It is his personal duty to shed light and give guidance on the truth, and this enlightenment and guidance must be extended to those not of the Faith. For how else are we to Christianize the social order?

When Bishop Von Ketteler was asked by Catholic workingmen if they might join non-sectarian unions, where there were no Catholic unions, Von Ketteler replied: "Is not the bread that we eat good, though it be kneaded by an atheist? Is not the air God's air, though it be breathed by non-believers?"

If Christian social reconstruction is to advance in America, the short-sighted, the provincial in our midst will have to be greatly enlightened, to a more Catholic view of modern developments. Fear born of ignorance has never been the helpful ally of Christianity; today the ignorance of many within the Church impedes the urgent work being carried on in the field of reconstruction.

Sand Bar

The sand bar lifts a curve of noonblazed pearl
Out of the thinning washing of the tide
Where waves as bright as lettuce overcurl
And spread long cooling fans upon its side.
Here there is Eden still, and ancient peace;
This sand, this agate flour and marble grist,
Is earth's most languid gesture of release
By which her complications are dismissed.
Even man, who made himself a price to pay
For all the things he knows, is privileged here—
A guest among the gulls, as free as they,
His body free of walls, his mind of fear,
Fingering lazily the salt white sand
While the white sun makes copper of his hand.

ELIZABETH BOHM.

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FIRST OFFENDERS

By CHARLES J. DUTTON

COMMONWEAL readers may remember my article on the parole system (September 11, 1936). Many people wrote me at that time to inquire if I had any suggestions as to how they might aid first offenders. Little can be done for the professional criminal, the gangster, with warped anti-social natures. But something most certainly can be done for the young man who makes his first serious mistake and is sent to prison.

Let us face facts. In some states criminal offenses increased last year. In other states, notably Pennsylvania and New York, major crimes decreased. But there is one type of crime—sex crime—that is increasing throughout America at a faster rate than ever before in the history of the country. This should make every serious thinker pause. It is not enough to shout that such offenders should be put out of existence. The fact must be faced intelligently. Behind it lies the whole problem of penal administration. In my opinion, the entire method now in vogue for punishing offenders should be speedily changed.

Today a judge and jury participate in criminal trials. The jury makes the decision as to the guilt or innocence of the accused party. The judge pronounces sentence. No scientific work is done either before or after the trial. All our criminal procedure today is a hit or miss proposition.

When a young man is arrested, he is not examined by a psychologist to determine the degree of his mental responsibility. No effort is made to discover why he committed the crime. There is no investigation concerning his social and economic background. His guilt is decided upon by a jury impaneled without any regard as to the fitness of the individual jurors to sit in judgment upon anyone. The judge sentences the prisoner at the bar as he sees fit.

I have known a judge who, when he occupied the bench on Monday, would still be feeling the effects of his Saturday and Sunday dissipations. Invariably he would hand down long, unfair sentences. There was another judge from whom we tried to keep all youths. He had a sadistic twist in his make-up and delighted in long, bitterly unjust sentences.

I propose that the power of sentencing be taken away from judges. It is by no means a new idea. Former Governor Alfred E. Smith once proposed it. The judge should hear the case and pass on the evidence. The jury should decide the guilt or innocence of the party. But the power of imposing sentence should be turned over to a properly qualified scientific board. This board should consist of a physician, a psychologist, a trained investigator, a lawyer and a clergyman of the prisoner's faith. This board should fix the sentence, not with the idea of punishment, but with the idea of determining the prisoner's actual mental and moral responsibility. Finally, a decision should be made as to what institution would be best qualified to aid the offender.

Let us appoint a well-trained, scientific group, equipped with knowledge and possessing sympathy—a generous portion of the milk of human kindness. Such a group will ask certain specific questions. Why did the prisoner commit this particular crime? What is behind it? What is his mental and social background? What is his physical and psychological make-up? When these questions have been answered, sentence can be imposed fairly and intelligently, with a hope of rapidly returning the prisoner to society cured of anti-social tendencies.

Most young men sentenced to prison today are given a split sentence—two to four, three to six years. At the expiration of the first half of their sentences, they are eligible for parole. But not all men in prison are ever released on parole. Of those so released 84 percent never get into future trouble.

Yet parole is much out of public favor at the present time. All the usual misinformation is being repeated. Agonizing editorials are being written. Lecturers are going up and down the land. Most of these well-intentioned people know nothing about the subject. They repeat the untruth they hear, that most crimes are committed by "foreigners." Leaflets thrown into the doorways of homes in certain western Pennsylvania towns assailed Catholics and Jews as the chief offenders. Both accusations are wrong. In order to appraise the situation, the problem should be approached with intelligence.

It cannot be said that the parole system has failed. If there is any trouble, it comes from suspended sentences, from probation. The daily press is filled with the crimes committed by men not on parole but on probation.

Before a man is allowed out on parole there are a series of investigations. A psychologist and a physician hand in a report concerning the prisoner's mental and physical health. The social, economic, moral and mental status of the applicant's family is investigated. The crime itself is reinvestigated. The prisoner himself is carefully questioned. If the parole board believes that the

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applicant is once again ready to take his place in society he is paroled. All this involves painstaking labor, in spite of which 16 percent of the applicants paroled are found to be unworthy and are returned to prison.

I would change the parole system to the extent that a prisoner should become eligible for parole at the discretion of the warden and a board of highly trained men. Every man sent to prison today sooner or later automatically comes before a parole board. Change the system. Let us not wait until he has served half of his sentence. If there is a reasonable chance that he will "go straight" in the future, let him have his chance at once.

There are many young men to whom I would give, after their conviction, a week in prison. I would let them see the horror and the loneliness of prison life. I would say to them: "This is what prison really is. You have made a serious mistake. We can keep you here for two years. If you will try to 'go straight,' we will let you out at once on parole."

If 84 percent of all paroled prisoners "go straight," and they do, why not start the parole system at once? A week in prison is as good for the average youth as two years behind the bars. Nor is it advisable for many reasons to keep the average youthful first offender in prison. It does no good and usually does a great deal of harm. The young man in prison learns many things that are morally destructive, and is not reformed by a long sentence.

The average cost per prison year, in my state, for one man is $650. It costs about $39 to keep him on parole. Parole gives him a chance to work. It also aids in keeping his family off relief rolls. It tends to reduce taxes. It aids in preventing the present dangerously overcrowded condition of our penal institutions. It postpones the need of building more prisons.

We need a new type of prison. I have stated that sex crimes are on the increase. Many states have no institutions to which these unfortunate individuals may be committed. The priest, the physician, the psychologist, though he condemns the crime, does not hate the individual. He has sympathy for the warped and twisted nature of the offender whose impulses make him a danger to society. He knows, furthermore, that such a man is a perpetual menace to society. Given the opportunity, the sex offender will always repeat his crime. He should never be allowed to regain his freedom. Why free him to commit another crime and die in the electric chair? He cannot be cured. Science has devised no cure for the most unfortunate of all our criminals.

Much of our trouble with crime lies in the fact that we have never faced it with intelligence. Even in the parole system, it is only after a man has been in prison that we try to find out why he got there in the first place. We ought to reverse the process. No man should be sent to prison until we know why he committed his crime. Our scientific investigation should start with the man's arrest. We should inquire particularly concerning his mental responsibility. Church and State can make no headway in dealing with the crime problem until they deal with it scientifically, instead of emotionally, or in a spirit of revenge.

Crimes are, as a general rule, committed by sick or diseased mentalities. If we had well-trained psychologists in our schools and public institutions, we could weed out most of these anti-social beings before they embarked upon their criminal careers. Many of them could be cured. Think of a boy sentenced to years in prison for stealing a car for a joy-ride, or stealing a few packages of cigarettes. It actually happens under the present system. Social workers can be of some help; but the person who believes that Johnnie is a good boy because he loves his mother, or the minister who pleads that Tom has seen the light and is now a reformed character, help neither the boy nor the community. We need trained, intelligent men and women in this preventive work.

We should start at the very beginning. Every child should be examined. If we do not start there, at least we should begin with the boy's arrest—not after he has been in prison for a couple of years. The time for investigation is before he is sentenced. To do this would require an entire change in our present system. Once this change has been achieved, costs could be cut, abuses abolished, unfair sentences diminished. The socially unfit would not be permitted to prey, at a future time, upon the community.

The power of sentence, I repeat, should be taken from the judges. Some progress would then be made in limiting the scandal of politically controlled judges, of probation. Judges are really umpires between two lawyers. They are not necessarily psychologists, trained investigators, competent lawyers, or even honest men.

No sentimentality, of course, should be shown toward habitual offenders. They cannot be aided. A civilized penal system is not based upon punishment as its ideal but upon the rehabilitation of the offender. All society has a stake in this. No nation whose greatest cost is for the upkeep of its criminal and socially unfit population has a chance for existence. Compare the cost of American schools and churches with that of its penal, reform and insane institutions. Read the yearly "cost of crime" in terms of dollars and cents. We cannot measure it in terms of human misery and suffering.

The day we first apply intelligence to the problem of crime is the day we take our first step in its final solution.

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PHILIPPINE CATHOLICISM

By P. C. MORANTTE

THE HISTORY of Christianity in the Far East dawned when Ferdinand Magellan, the great Portuguese navigator, landed in the island of Cebu in 1521 and performed a mass baptism of the pagan natives. But Magellan and most of his men were killed in the island of Mactan, near Cebu, while helping the new converts fight against their rival tribe. Thus what he had hoped to carry out for his God and claim for his king came to naught.

Around 1565, however, Spain dispatched to the Orient an expedition composed of men capable not only of colonizing the archipelago with tact and force but also of spreading the Catholic Church by means of love as well as intelligent conversion. This particular expedition was successful. The ductile natives of the Visayas and Luzon capitulated body and soul. In the course of Catholicism's inception, however, there took place untold bloody clashes between the more savage inhabitants and the overzealous Christian soldiers of the king. Nevertheless, Philippine history is made richer by those sanguine encounters; no other events more vitally memorable than those bitter sacrifices of the forefathers could give a more sacred initiation and firmer foundation of the Catholic Church.

Except in inaccessible regions which shelter the aborigines and also in the southern parts of Mindanao where Mohammedanism had secured a palpable hold of the warlike tribes before the advent of Magellan, Catholicism became the religion of the nation.

Catholicism has given the Filipino soul and temperament a different quality, utterly distinct from that of other nations of the Far East. The nations of Japan, China, Indo-China, Siam, India and the Dutch East Indies manifest a common quality of soul and temperament in their temples of worship, in their religious expressions, and in their attitude toward the finer things of life. Catholic Filipinos have a religious isolation in the Orient—a unique position in being the only Christian nation in the Far East.

As a Filipino I can say with authority that our absorption of Catholicism is not superficial. Our acceptance of Catholicism is not only a willing recognition of the intrinsic virtues of the Church but also a jealous attempt to preserve for posterity our precious historical heritage. Though our history dates back to somewhere around 300 B. C., when, it is supposed, began the infiltration of both Chinese and Hindu cultures, no event of major significance had taken place to awaken us to the realization of the fact that we are an integral race possessed of a national soul.

Before the Spaniards brought Christianity to our shores, the Filipinos had no definite religion. They were simply fetish-worshipers, finding their objects of worship in crocodile teeth, skulls, *manitos,* bugs and whatnots. Their deities exacted fear and fanatical devotion rather than love. They found spiritual consolation and strength in illusions and superstitions. Truth and love were not a part of their belief. They were pagans, and as such they were a broken race of people without a common destiny.

Now we are aware that we Filipinos have a common destiny which is being realized through the best traditions of the Church. We have adopted those ideas and ideals embodied in the beauty and progress of Christian civilization. Because we believe in the words of George Washington that to "all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports," we are confident in our future.

Catholic population of the Philippines is rapidly increasing. It is a good sign. Ten years ago the non-Christian elements, that is, the Mohammedans and pagans, comprised 8 percent of the total population of the islands. Now this figure has been considerably lessened. Some have become Protestants; most of them have become Catholics. It is interesting to note that in relation to the increase of population, the number of Protestant followers, including those of the Filipino Independent Church founded by Father Aglipay, is undergoing a steady decrement.

The campaign to develop Mindanao has resulted in the immigration of civilized Filipinos from the Visayas and Luzon into Moroland, resulting inevitably in the infusion of the Catholic doctrine into the pagan and Mohammedan life of the south.

And now that the spiritual unity of the Moros is being corrupted by the assumption of two datu leaders to the Sultanate, the decline of Mohammedanism is beginning. It will not be long before the people of the south take up Catholicism, as a result of the unsettled condition of their spiritual life. Furthermore, the Moros are beginning to see that the wise policies attendant upon Christian leadership are the best guarantee of their future welfare. They are waking to the fact that Moro customs and traditions stand in the way of their progress. For instance, conditions related to polygamous marriage affect their social welfare. The practise of Mohammedan feudalism cannot but obstruct general advancement.

Catholicism is the bulwark of our nation. Communism, Feudalism, Nazism, Fascism and other morbid nationalisms would not flourish in the Philippines. Our land witnessed in the nineteenth century close parallels of what has recently taken place in Mexico and is now happening in Spain. It should be borne in mind that democratic principles aid the propagation of the Faith. Church and State are now separate, but it is evident that the former influences both our civic duties and our spiritual and moral conduct.

To be sure, for the past thirty-nine years, there have been times where our Americanized State has crossed the path of our Apostolic Church. But always there has been a happy solution. For our State leaders are almost all Catholics and therefore conversant with the intricate problems of the Church. They know how to arrive at a satisfactory understanding with the Church without sacrificing any fundamental principles. Under these circumstances, the Philippine nation's destiny is clearly defined.

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Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—At the installation of the Most Reverend Joseph H. Albers as the first bishop of the new Diocese of Lansing, Mich., Archbishop McNicholas of Cincinnati said, "The Bishop of Lansing is transferred from the Titular See of Lunda, a city of the once populous Church of Asia Minor. The city of Lunda has long ago ceased to exist, but the Church preserves the name and the memory of that section of the vineyard of Christ. . . . If Michigan should become a desert and an uninhabited land, the Church will preserve the name of the Diocese of Lansing forever." * * * Meeting at Rome City, Ind., the Board of Directors of the National Council of Catholic Men chose Louis Kenedy of New York as president. Resolutions adopted expressed gratitude for the Holy Father's recovery and the three recent encyclicals. Considerable gratification was expressed at the widening influence of the Catholic Hour. * * * Some 200 newly painted luggers were blessed by the Reverend Charles Beauvais of Montegut, La., at the beginning of the ten-month shrimp season after a Mass attended by fishermen from the bayou country with their wives and children. * * * Headquarters at the Leo House, New York City, reports that during July the Committee for Catholic Refugees from Germany aided 352 cases of refugees abroad and 37 in America. * * * Following rumors in the daily press that the Province of Quebec was becoming separatist and Fascist, Cardinal Villeneuve of Quebec declared that patriotism was made a positive law by Our Lord and reminded French Canadians of the allegiance they owe to George VI. "I have never wished that this province be transformed into a clerical or Fascist state. . . . Liberty must be accorded by law to members of the same profession to unite more closely and effectively to protect their common interests, not only workers but employers also. In so doing many social problems would be settled for the common good." * * * On the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of their first center the Society of Missionary Catechists of Our Blessed Lady of Victory at Huntington, Ind., were instructing and assisting 19,000 underprivileged children.

The Nation.—The House Committee on Governmental Reorganization unexpectedly voted on August 10 to recommend a bill giving the President broad powers for two years to abolish, consolidate and readjust the regular departments of the government, but not the regulatory, quasi-judicial "independent agencies" such as the I.C.C., the F.T.C., etc. The measure would also set up a Department of Public Welfare. This resolution covers the second of the four divisions into which the reorganization plan has been separated. The first, providing six executive assistants to the President, has been passed; the third deals with the general accounting office and the fourth with civil service. * * * The Senate passed a resolution calling for a census of the unemployed to be taken April 1, 1938, and a study of the characteristics of those unemployed. * * * The State Department has received thirty-seven answers to the plea Secretary Hull made to the nations on July 16 for the reduction of trade barriers and arms and the respect for treaties. No word came from Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain, China and Rumania. Strong answers from Hungary and Bulgaria indicated deep dissatisfaction with present treaties and the way they are enforced or ignored. * * * During the first seven months of the year, corporate bond offerings totaled $900,357,000, compared with $2,354,461,000 last year. For the same periods public stock offerings were $395,317,000 and $197,641,000 respectively. This trend toward heavier stock financing and curtailment of borrowing through bonds was said to be caused by increased interest in speculation, changes in the investments and money market conditions permitting companies to avoid fixed interest securities, and to some extent by more widespread belief in the general benefits of equity finance.

The Wide World.—The Soviet purge was extended to the Tadjikastan Republic. The Premier and other officials were denounced as spies of Japanese-German Fascism and removed from office. * * * Russia obtained most-favored-nation treatment from the United States in a new commercial agreement by which it agreed to increase its guaranteed purchases from this country to $40,000,000 in the next twelve months. The Soviets are also negotiating with American steel and shipbuilding companies for the construction of three new battleships. * * * The first anniversary of the Metaxas régime was solemnly celebrated throughout Greece on August 4. * * * A pact to foster trade, containing twenty-six agreements, was concluded by Bolivian and Chilean economic experts and will probably be approved by the respective governments. * * * Jugoslavia's Holy Synod announced that Premier Milan Stoyadinovitch, eight Cabinet members and sixteen members of Parliament had been denied all church rites and privileges, pending trial by the chief ecclesiastical court, because they voted for the Vatican Concordat. The government refuses to recognize the legality of the penalty, arguing that members of Parliament cannot be held responsible by any court for votes cast in Parliament. * * * The British Foreign Office refused to renew the permits of three German writers. The German government requested the removal of Norman Ebbutt, senior London *Times* correspondent in Berlin. * * * The government of El Salvador announced its withdrawal from the League of Nations "for economic reasons."

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Japan in China.—Poverty and a large population characterize the North China territory Japan seems to have in view as its next conquest. The Japanese gold

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reserve is rapidly approaching the vanishing point; the present Chinese venture has already cost 500,000,000 yen (roughly $170,000,000) and the loss of considerable shipping trade. Observers estimate that only 45,000 Japanese troops are engaged in North China, although serious washouts on the railway have held up troops from Manchukuo. Japanese military strategy has been confined to seizing strategic outposts and bombing Chinese troops to discourage mobilization. Chiang Kai-shek, with no navy and an inferior air force, is moving slowly. He has called together for consultation the provincial generals and governors who command China's armies. The only major engagement expected in the immediate future is thirty miles northwest of Peiping at the Nankow Pass in the Great Wall, where Chinese from the North were desperately rushing reinforcements to stem the coming onslaught of highly efficient Japanese contingents of tanks, warplanes, armored cars, artillery, cavalry and infantry. Tense feeling followed the killing of a Japanese sailor and a naval officer alleged to be spying on a Shanghai airport, the Japanese sending thirty warships there. They took Peiping under their "protection," August 8, when 3,000 fully equipped troops marched in and the city's last Chinese radio link with the rest of the world was cut off. At Tientsin not far away the Japanese completely took over the salt administration which has yielded as much as $3,000,000 yearly; they control all approaches to the city. Tientsin wireless and postal office lie in the British and French concessions and the plan of installing plainclothes Japanese military censors evoked heated Franco-British protests. More ominous were the reports of the evacuation of Japanese civilians from all parts of China and plans to move the Chinese capital further inland from Nanking to Hangkow.

Agriculture.—Bumper crops of grains and cotton have remarkably revived the farm question. Of farm produce, there is an important lack only of meats. In the face of a 15,593,000-bale cotton crop, cotton futures on the exchange went below $.105 a pound, and nervous congressional blocs demanded that the government guarantee prices by giving $.17 commodity loans and subsidies, or at a minimum $.10 loans. The administration continued to fight commodity loans so long as there is no general agricultural act which can curb production. Farm blocs wanted to get executive agreement by promising a comprehensive farm law at the beginning of the next session, regular or special. There seemed some chance of a special session being called in October primarily to do something for agricuture. In spite of current fears about farm product prices, agriculture seemed unusually prosperous. The purchasing power of the farm dollar, taking 1926 as 100, went down to 63 in 1932, but this year is figured at 101. Farm cash income was $9,993,000,000 in 1926, $4,328,000,000 in 1932, and this year is estimated at $8,640,000,000. * * * The Farm Tenancy Act just passed by Congress was thoroughly deflated by a Department of Agriculture analysis. The department has $10,000,000 to spend on the program during the first year, and about 3,000,000 tenants, farm laborers and sharecroppers to deal with. It is expected that only 1,000 to 2,000 of these can be established on their own farms under the provisions of the act and with the appropriation.

Co-ops in Newfoundland.—The vitality of the cooperative movement emanating from St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, is being demonstrated this year by its spread through Newfoundland. With the support of the Department of Rural Reconstruction under the commission which governs Newfoundland, five men from Antigonish have been successfully pushing the movement. In the effort to develop native field workers and leaders a summer school was established at St. John's and seventy men were enrolled. More than 300 cooperative societies have been formed. Most of these have not been going long enough to set up their own stores, but they have study clubs—the basic organization—and credit societies, buying societies and some farming clubs. The movement is more developed on the east coast than on the west, and marketing and fisheries societies have been established along there. The fisheries had a hard time because last year was a disastrous one for inshore fishing. The new societies survived, however, and kept their members. This winter, in New York City, one of the professors from St. Francis Xavier, Father Coady, will lecture in the New School, where a cooperative college is in the process of formation. This summer a large group of Americans are visiting Antigonish for the fifteenth annual Rural and Industrial Conference held by the university. The English government is reported to have appropriated $500,000 to the work of the Xavier Extension movement in its new field.

Non-Catholic Religious Activities. — A Christian Science building, representing the 156 churches of that denomination in the State of New York, is to be erected for the World's Fair, to be held here in 1939. This announcement was made Thursday, August 5, from Grover Whalen's office, where it was also stated that the site selected is in the Welfare Section, a cross-thoroughfare near the Main Esplanade. * * * Four hundred rabbis in New England have become naturalized citizens of the United States through the efforts of Abraham Alpert, veteran Jewish newspaperman, lecturer and agent of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society. This remarkable fact was made public the week of August 3, when Rabbi Eliezer Poupko of Haverhill was granted citizenship papers, making the 400th spiritual leader on Mr. Alpert's list, which runs into the thousands, including prominent men in every walk of life. * * * A United Christian Council of Alaska with representatives from the Congregational-Christian Church, the Metlakatal Christian Missions and the Methodist Episcopal Church has been organized and incorporated in the state of Illinois. Formed on July 10, the new organization will have its headquarters at 19 South LaSalle Street, Chicago. The Council will be an elastic interdenominational group designed to promote closer cooperation among the participating denominations at work in Alaska.

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Theatre Conference.—Seven hundred members of the Catholic Theatre Conference, dedicated to the promotion of Catholicism through dramatic art and aiming at the elevation of present-day theatre standards, adopted a constitution and elected national officers at the close of a two-day convention at the Catholic University of America. Delegates from thirty-five states, the District of Columbia, England, the Dominican Republic, Philippine Islands and Nova Scotia attended the convention. The new constitution states that the four purposes of the organization are: to promote and spread Catholic truth through dramatic art, to unite Catholic groups interested in dramatic art, to provide services to members of the organization, and to elevate the standards of the theatre. The constitution was adopted for a two-year period. Addressing the convention, Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen declared that "the theatre is where the best listening is done," and praised the members of the conference as "the most sagacious apologists of the Church." He decried the "easy tolerance" of the day and urged his listeners to have the courage to present plays as powerful in their influence for good as the revolutionary plans of the Communists are powerful for evil. The convention was opened Saturday morning, August 7, with an address of welcome by Monsignor Edward B. Jordan of the Catholic University. The Reverend John H. Mahoney, director of the Catholic Repertory Theatre of New York, carried a message to the convention from His Eminence, Cardinal Hayes of New York, expressing "deep interest" in and encouragement of the movement.

Girl Scouts.—Sponsored by the Girl Scouts, the first international encampment ever held in the United States opened August 10 at Camp Andree, Briarcliff Manor, N. Y. One hundred girls between the ages of seventeen and nineteen gathered for two weeks from every corner of the globe to observe the twenty-fifth anniversary of Girl Scouting in the United States and to honor the memory of Juliette Low, founder. Representatives of the world's 1,500,000 Girl Scouts and Girl Guides, the delegates were carefully selected as typical of the best in Scouting in their various communities and countries. The campers included representatives of twenty-six foreign nations, ranging from China to Iceland, who were guests of seventy-five American Scouts chosen from every section of this country. Apart from its commemorative aspect, the purpose of the encampment was to foster a broader understanding between the youth of nations upon whom it was Mrs. Low's belief the future peace of the world depends. Possessing First Class Girl Scout or Guide rankings, the representatives were also selected for linguistic ability, in order that a free exchange of thought on general problems of the movement might be possible. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, honorary president, delivered the opening address at the ceremonies at Briarcliff Manor. A pageant, "Hands around the World," written and produced by Miss Oleda Schrottky, in which the foreign girls and a few of the Americans participated, followed. Approximately 400 people, including some of the country's most distinguished women, attended.

Interracial Symposium.—Two hundred students at the Fordham University Summer School and several members of the faculty met in a conference sponsored by the Catholic Interracial Council, August 5. Dr. Peter Murray, Negro physician attached to the Harlem Hospital, cited figures for the last census year the country over, to the effect that while the death rate for white persons was 9.9 per 1,000, the Negro death rate was 18.0 per 1,000. "It is obvious that better housing and sanitation, improved nutrition and generally improved conditions will have to be provided if the colored population of our country is to be materially improved," he said, and placed great emphasis on interracial cooperation to stamp out the ravages of venereal diseases. Reverend John La Farge, S.J., told of the 300 priests and 1,200 nuns now devoting themselves to the spiritual welfare of the colored race in this country. Maceo A. Thomas, a Cornell graduate, cited the 25,000 students now in colleges maintained exclusively for the Negro and the 2,000 Negro students in other colleges. Two resolutions embodying the conclusions of the symposium called on leaders in Catholic education to be more active in spreading a greater understanding of interracial justice and declared that all Catholic educational institutions in the North should be encouraged to open their doors more generally to fully qualified Negro students in the field of higher education.

Labor Notes.—The Textile Workers Organizing Committee, C.I.O. operating successor to the United Textile Workers, formerly an A. F. of L. union, called a strike August 9 in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New England which pulled out between 30,000 and 58,000 silk and rayon workers. The union was confident of successfully organizing the industry and expected useful cooperation from many employers who were believed favorable to the drive as a means of stabilizing the wild operating conditions current in the history. * * * After a period of sharp bargaining under the eye of the government, the fourteen non-operating railway brotherhoods with 750,000 members accepted a peace with the management which raises wages $.05 an hour and leaves other questions to direct negotiation. The operating brotherhoods, fortified with an overwhelming rank and file strike vote, were still apparently far from agreement. * * * In Philadelphia, labor conditions continued to be very lively. Charging the Atlantic and Pacific was hiring thugs to drive its trucks, the A. F. of L. Teamsters Union called a three-day sympathy strike. A taxi driver strike was barely averted when a closed shop was granted to the A. F. of L. union. A huge joint meeting was held by A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unionists where a significant unity movement was undertaken. The purpose is to form an "all-Philadelphia labor committee" which the local men in both camps said they would foster even if national leaders held aloof. * * * Plymouth plants were shut five days in Detroit by trouble between the United Automobile Workers and an independent union that the C.I.O. affiliate claimed was being favored by the Chrysler Corporation. Four U.A.W. men had been discharged because, it was said, of union activity.

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Communications

NATURALISM

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editor: The Reverend Geoffrey O'Connell's book, "Naturalism in American Education," published by the Catholic University Press, is important in a number of ways. It shows quite clearly, to anyone familiar with Spain and the Spanish Successor-States in America, what it is that has happened in Spain and in Mexico to produce present conditions. It shows a direct consequence in Mexico, of trends in American university education. It confirms a point which has always seemed to me of paramount importance in the founding of America, i. e., the Christianity of our early American institutions (their subconscious Catholicism borne by men molded in Catholic thought and only recently Protestant at the time of our founding). It shows a development in American education which may well call for a shift from the present basis of our system of apologetics to meet the present issue.

This trend is classified by Father O'Connell as "naturalism" and it is defined as follows: "Naturalism is a general term indicating an attitude of mind rather than a system of metaphysics," an attitude by the way set out extremely well and rather tragically in Joseph Wood Krutch's "The Modern Temper" a few years ago. In that attitude of mind the victim either cannot see or actually denies the possibility of theological significance in the universe, of finality, of perfect or metaphysical certitude. It seeks all answers in the nature of "human nature" and excluding the supernatural, the spiritual, from the answer, it either despairs of any solution (such as described by Joseph Krutch) or it concentrates (far less logically) on positivism. I say "less logically" because despair is an intelligent reaction to the exclusion of the supernatural, positivism is not.

Naturalism, according to Father O'Connell, comprises three main currents: materialism, stating that "matter is the only reality"; evolutionism, "which derives the entire universe, moral and religious, cosmic and organic, from an eternal, unknowable matter or force"; and positivism, the particular present trend in Mexican education, "which limits the knowable to that which is susceptible of sense-experience and whose sole aim is to produce a systematic body . . . of scientific knowledge that can stand the final test of observation and experiment." Mexico, in this connection, has gone with immense enthusiasm and not very scintifically, for Auguste Comte very largely under the influence of John Dewey, ill-digested by his Mexican pupils and certainly even less digestible by the rural Indians to whom they are offering it as a substitute for a "superstitious" Catholicism.

Father O'Connell points out that, founded in Christianity (I claim: in Catholicism, in the Catholic mind molded for centuries in Catholic Christendom, in spite of a superficial Protestantism, still new, still not wholly formed at the time of our founding in 1607), our American educational system had drifted away by 1850, and under the impulse of Charles W. Eliot (continued by Dewey, Kilpatrick, Rugg and Thorndike) hardened into the three main tendencies grouped under this general heading of "naturalism." That picture is spread wide out in Mexico for anyone to read. In Spain is has come about less visibly to us very largely through a certain lag in Catholic education between the traditional classic arts courses and the science and social science developments. I would suggest that it is less an "apostasy" of any given social class in Spain that has precipitated the present tragedy, than it is (in its beginning at least) a feeling that legitimate educational desires and aspirations could not find fulfilment within Catholicism, and that a true and unbridgeable chasm exists between science and religion.

Catholic educators cannot be unaware of the inroads this naturalistic attitude of mind has made among Catholic students in Catholic colleges, nor of the difficulty many of these young people have in deriving any satisfactory solution from our present system of apologetics. To many of them, in preparatory schools or colleges, our apologetics are mainly concerned with Protestantism. To many of them Protestantism no longer exists as a difficulty or a menace to Catholicism and apologetics hang in the air without any application to actual "university" thought.

In connection with the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine so energetically recommended in every diocese, consideraion of that problem would be most timely and useful.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN SANDS.

COMMUNISM: FASCISM

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: It is always interesting to hear what an ex-political leader has to say. Especially is it interesting when he speaks of the man or of the form of government which succeeded him.

And so, it is interesting to note that, though Don Luigi Sturzo (in THE COMMONWEAL, April 16) says many things against the Fascism which succeeded his Partita Popolare Italiana, and though he tries to point out the similarities existing between Fascism and Communism, still he allows that there are two points of difference between the two forms of government. They are the right of private property and the treatment of religion. It is interesting to note that these are the two chief principles wherein Communism abuses man's natural rights. In other words Fascism is like Communism up to the point where Communism transgresses the moral law. And at this juncture Fascism prefers to act like a good Christian.

Of course, Fascism is opposed to the abuses of capitalism, and so it lays heavy taxes on private property in order that it may, thereby, destroy those inequalities of wealth from which capitalistic countries are suffering. And of course, too, Mussolini does not get pietistic when he gives his reasons for protecting and defending the Catholic Church. You would hardly expect him to do that.

LOUISA DELMONICO BYLES.

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The Screen

By JAMES P. CUNNINGHAM

Dead End

THE SEVERE limitations of action concentrated in the single Norman Bel Geddes dark river-front setting originally caused the sceptics to question the values of "Dead End" on the screen. And, after Samuel Goldwyn paid the astounding sum of $165,000 merely for the right to produce the play, there was still more speculation as to whether Sidney Kingsley's manuscript would ever be recognized when it emerged from the roving eye of the camera. Now Mr. Goldwyn and his writers and directors vindicate the judgment that the camera most certainly can refrain from its natural inclination to always embrace scope, and, staying within bounds, reproduce a play with utmost fidelity, the while still maintaining full dramatic power of the stage performance. There is the identical starkly realistic crime-breeding atmosphere of murky tenement gutters. The camera does roam a little from the street scene to the insides of the nearby slum "flats," and it follows characters through the dark and foreboding alleys. But it never moves substantially away from the locale that is so pungent and biting in its depression.

Actually, Sidney Kingsley's young delinquents give better performances under the camera, for the facial contortions which are so inseparably a part of their street lingo are readily discernible here where they could hardly be seen on the stage, and their delivery is made more efficient because the camera's recording microphone does not allow them to crowd their lines as in the play. Nor does the film resort to the vulgarisms voiced in the play for some 700 performances by the six dirty-faced urchins who portray juvenile delinquency and warped personality.

Some, however, will chide the motion picture for eliminating the cripple who played the underdog to the gangster of the play and, instead, substituting the more heroic, handsome Joel McCrea. McCrea himself shoots the bully, whereas the cripple calls in the "G-men" to do that. Be that as it may, even here the photoplay has lost nothing to the Kingsley drama.

There is gripping human interest in "Dead End." It is a masterful blending of a strong story, brilliant acting, expert direction and intelligent production. No concession is made to artificial theatricalism. Set in the river slums, where modern, comfortable apartments tower over the river tenements, the vicious adult and juvenile gangsters and those closely associated with them are the lone characters, who tell a potent sermon, intended to exert a deterring influence on youngsters who desire to emulate the lives and customs of gangsters. But, while the story is that of the underprivileged, it suggests nothing by way of a solution to their underprivileges.

Sylvia Sidney, opposite Joel McCrea, notably marks her return to the screen after a spell. Lillian Hellman adapted the Kingsley story, and William Wyler directed. Strongly supporting the six youngsters—who are far ahead of others in performance—are Humphrey Bogart, Allen Jenkins, Wendy Barrie, Claire Trevor and Minor Watson.

Books

Highly Provocative

The End of Democracy, by Ralph Adams Cram. Boston: Marshall Jones Company. $3.00.

THE TITLE of this important and highly provocative book is only partially correct. For it is Mr. Cram's thesis that there is such a thing as "high" democracy which once flourished in this country, finding its best expression in the Constitution, before it was impaired by the later amendments, and that it consisted of a well-balanced cooperation of aristocratic with democratic elements of American society. Only through the restoration of this traditional form of true democracy, he concludes, can American civilization be rescued from the evil results of the degraded, "mass man" type of selfish and predatory "democracy" which overthrew the original, valid type of American society established by the Constitutional Convention of 1787. What now falsely passes itself off as "democracy," he contends, and which threatens to ruin the nation because it destroys our traditional and desirable cultural values, is the alliance between organized groups of utterly selfish, unprincipled, immoral "mass men," into whose hands have passed practically all power in the fields of politics, economics, finance, industry and social affairs. This power is only slightly and ineffectively checked by the true inheritors of the genuine principles of American democracy, although, Mr. Cram believes, these latter actually constitute the majority of the people. But they are unorganized, divided and, therefore, incapable of resisting, still less of reversing, the destructive rule of the representatives of the degraded "mass men."

By this term, which Mr. Cram takes over from the Spanish writer, Ortega y Gasset—although many years ago he was expressing the same ideas—he dominates those modern barbarians who have captured civilization from within, rather than by raids from outside, and have revolted from all the principles which Christianity established when the Catholic Church united and directed the best human values discovered by the ancient cultures in a hierarchy of institutions at the apex of which was the spiritual power of the Church. The modern "mass men," says Mr. Cram, consist of "the upper stratum of owners and controllers of power: financial, industrial, commercial, and the several hundred thousand technical employees, satellites and subsidiaries whose interests are bound up with those of their employers and masters; this on the one hand; on the other, proletarian organized labor, the several veteran organizations, and an ill-defined number of similar units that are in conflict with the high sector in an indecisive effort to get for themselves what they want, regardless of all considerations. With these must be included the generality of legislators, for they also belong to the category of 'mass men'; certainly by right of similarity of character, motive and method of action, probably also by virtue of descent." Mr. Cram allows that many exceptional individuals are to be found in such groups; men of good character, of high intellectual abilities, and worthy ideals of civic service; but he be-

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lieves that such men are helplessly carried along in the stream of cupidity, cynicism, stupidity and vulgarity of the main torrent of the "mass men."

It is to what he terms the "forgotten class" of Americans that Mr. Cram appeals, to rescue the nation from the new barbarians. By the "forgotten class" he means farmers, small shopkeepers, tradesmen, craftsmen and artizans; the members of most of the professional classes; teachers, followers of pure science, artists, literary men, the clergy, small *rentiers,* college students, clerks, "and finally the great mass of skilled and unskilled manual laborers who are not organized and have no way of exacting equity and justice from the dominant powers, except the purely theoretical and ineffective agency of the ballot."

Yet it is no form of totalitarian or dictatorial government that is pleaded for. Liberty and religion and human dignity are far too precious to the majority of Americans to be bartered for the false promises of economic security and national or racial glory preached by the modern dictators. What is required, Mr. Cram argues, is nothing less than the total reorganization of American society along the lines of an organic, cooperative system embracing all desirable classes, aristocratic as well as democratic, with the directive power taken away from professional politicians and entrusted to the representatives of the vital interests and classes of the whole community. And the author invokes the teaching of the papal encyclicals in support of his thesis. The "forgotten class" must develop leaders, for only that class is worthy to be entrusted with directive power over society.

If Mr. Cram's opinions were merely personal ones, his highly important book might be considered as eccentric; but this is far from being the case; on the contrary, the book's importance is due not only to the fact that it proclaims the philosophical-historical ideas of a highly distinguished American leader, for undoubtedly it also reflects powerful and increasingly practical convictions widely held in the United States today, but as yet not unified and organized. It is not a variety of Fascism; it is the revival of traditional American beliefs seeking new channels for expression. In this sense, this book must be regarded as a significant document testifying to the fundamental character of our social crisis, and instrumental in seeking a way to solve it that will be in concord with, and not opposed to, the fundamental principles of Christian civilization.

MICHAEL WILLIAMS.

Cloak-and-Sword Romance

And So—Victoria, by Vaughan Wilkins. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

"AND SO—VICTORIA" offers 600 pages of cloak-and-sword romance in the pre-Victorian nineteenth century. Mr. Wilkins is out to blast the House of Hanover (Victoria excepted), as are many of his characters, and the Hanovers are out to blast everyone (relative Victoria included); Mr. Wilkins calls some history and much fiction to his service, his characters rely on pistols, swords and plots—lots of them.

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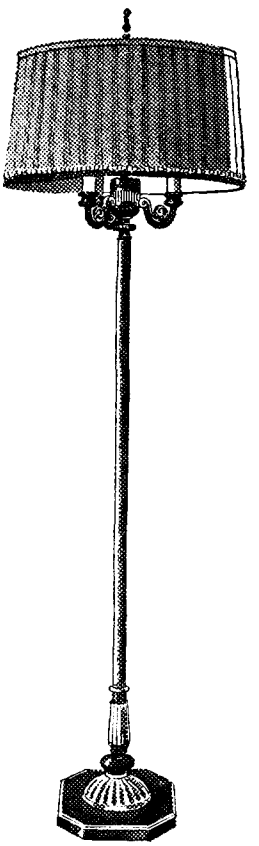

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Christopher Harnish, the hero, is a pro-Victoria Hanover and the mystery surrounding his birth contributes to the story. He is a young man faintly reminiscent of Anthony Adverse and almost as much of a traveler, though decidedly less of an amorist. Mr. Wilkins, presumably, is intent on showing the course of history sweeping toward the inevitable enlightenment of the Victorian age. And he wishes, plainly, to provide thrill a-plenty by making Christopher a prime, if obscure, agent in this progress. The progress is anticipated in uncomfortably anachronistic dialogue: did anyone in the time of William IV call himself "psychic" or was anyone "sex-starved," even verbally? The thrills are a matter of taste. The book should be ample ballast for the hammock of the vacationist who feels properly relaxed.

GEOFFREY STONE.

Social Problem

The Mentally Ill in America, by Albert Deutsch. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.00.

THE LATE Dr. William A. White, who was for years superintendent of St. Elizabeth's Hospital in the District of Columbia, an institution of 5,000 beds, declared that this book "should be widely read, for its message is of the utmost significance." The copyright is in the name of the American Foundation for Mental Hygiene, Incorporated, so that the book is thoroughly commended by official sources.

The most disturbing social problem in this country is the rapid increase in the number of the insane, that is, of individuals who have to be under surveillance because they are sufferers from mental alienation in one form or other. It has been said, and unfortunately there is more truth in it than we like to admit, that in the course of another generation most of the mentally sane will be occupied with the care of the ever-increasing insane. Asylums are built that are expected to furnish ample accommodation for a generation or more and they are crowded in the course of a few years.

We are going to need many more asylums for the insane in the course of the next few years and it is well that we have this volume which shows us the background of the development of care for the insane in this country. America has been a pioneer in bettering the conditions but there still remains much to be done. Even apparently so obvious a question as to what size hospital is most suitable is still as much a debated question as it was back in 1866 when it threatened to disrupt the American Psychiatric Association. Some psychiatrists advocate the small size hospital as affording a better atmosphere for the individualization of treatment; others are in favor of large size hospitals of 3,000 to 5,000 beds. The new Pilgrim State Hospital of New York is designed to accommodate about 8,000 patients. It is easy to understand, then, how valuable a book containing all the information that Dr. Deutsch has gathered will be. All the problems of the insane, including heredity, are here discussed in thoroughly conservative fashion.

JAMES J. WALSH.

Progress in Turkey

Allah Dethroned, by Lilo Linke. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $5.00.

HIGHWAYS and byways of modern Turkey, the new rubbing shoulders with the past, and the progress that has been made, are graphically described by a young German girl, Lilo Linke, in this fascinating book. Using all types of transportation, Miss Linke showed the highest qualities of a traveler, in not minding how rough the going became. In fact some of the highlights of her trip were made en route to places in motor-lorries. Associating with tobacco merchants, teachers and peasants, she was able to mirror the people's attitude to the new order under Kemal Ataturk. The astonishing progress made in education, medical hygiene, and last but not least Turkey's five-year program, has been given special attention by Miss Linke. Although many of these programs were imitated from Russia, Miss Linke found that Turkey has no notion of becoming another Bolshevik state. The New Government by giving her a letter of introduction to all local officials, greatly facilitated her work of accumulating interesting material in all the localities she visited. The statistical information she gathered has been placed at the ends of different chapters, along with accounts of many new and fascinating projects that are coming to the front in the modernization of that country. Well illustrated with 81 snapshots and interestingly written, this book is a fitting companion to her other literary endeavors.

Reform

Denmark—The Cooperative Way, by Frederic C. Howe. New York: Coward-McCann. $2.50.

THE CONTINUED popularity of this panegyric since its appearance several months ago must show how eager Americans are for reform more essential than the New Deal and less totalitarian and metaphysical than Marxism. Mr. Howe paints what he considers a practically perfect picture of the small agricultural commonwealth in the Baltic. His picture would be even more seductive if he did not place as integral to the cooperative and governmental and educational set-up certain accidents which others might well consider accidents indeed. The Danes have created a remarkable series of paradoxes: a government amazingly identified with society, an economy based on cooperation as much as on capitalism, a free and untrammeled school system, private property by small users, and dignified individualism. Surely the accomplishment deserves intent study.

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